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584 431 courting visits are paid by the boy without seeing the girl at all. He is entertained by the bridesmaids. After a few such visits, the boy will give 10s. or £1 to 'see the girl', to remove this taboo. The bride and her sisters similarly avoid all brothers of the groom till they 'see her by means of a small gift after the marriage. One often sees such boys teasing these girls to try to get an answer to some question, but they keep resolutely silent. Owing to the ramifications of the classificatory system, there are areas such as the queen's district, where most of the inhabitants are related in some way. Here many men and women cannot speak to each other because the men cannot afford to 'see' all the brides of the family. After some years the women will tire of the avoidance and begin to speak to these men.

595 431 606 On arrival at the village of the husband, a bride avoids every one (by not speaking) till given a small gift. Her mother-in-law gives her a gift during the first week while she is still secluded, but the father-in-law usually waits longer. On the arrival of any visitor, the bride will lie down on her side in respectful salutation till given some small gift. As soon as a boy begins to avoid his prospective bride, he avoids also her mother. They may not be together in the same hut, the mother may not serve food to the boy, and, should they happen to come near each other, the woman will avert or partially cover her head. But whereas avoidance between groom and bride ends before marriage, that between a man and his mother-in-law ends usually about a year after the marriage, when the woman is given 10s. or a blanket. Andreas gave 15s. after the birth of his first child. Nevertheless, a man will always take care never to talk loudly or angrily in the company of his mother-in-law. If he does, she will walk away and if a man were to have words with his mother-in-law or scold her in a bout of drunkenness, he would have to pay a pardon goat to her family.

607 The most lasting form of avoidance is that between a man and his wife's brother's wife, especially the one who has been obtained with the cattle he handed over for his wife and who will bear the future wife of his son. Frieda always covers her face when meeting her husband's sister's husband. If he is in a hut, she may not enter it. Beyond exchanging greetings, she does not sit with him or talk directly to him and she may not herself serve him with food. The uterine sister of the husband of [635] Madinji married Nagumbi and so, according to all the rules, she should avoid him; but in reality she is his lover. He, Madinji, is known to be the father of one of her, Nagumbi's, children, yet they are not socially ostracised nor have their actions been publicly condemned.

835 That this sort of breach of accepted standards is neither directly punished nor actively disapproved, unless forcibly brought before the public eye in a case, is in keeping with the haphazard nature of Lovedu social arrangements. Lejaeula, who, on the death of his parents, came to live with his grandfather (mother's mother's brother), has had four children by the wife of his mother's brother, the son of his grandfather, though he himself is a married man. We were at first inclined to attribute this state of affairs partly to culture contact conditions, which have kept the woman's husband in town, though not determining her choice of

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lovers. But we have revised our opinion, for many irregularities cannot be related to disturbances caused by culture contact and appear always to have existed. We came across other examples of intercourse with the wife's brother's wife, while a friend of ours, an important *induna*, was even publicly accused at a beer-drink of having had a child by incestuous relations with the wife of his father's younger brother, a woman much older than himself. But nothing further was done in the matter. Sometimes, however, such cases do appear before the courts. One of the most dramatic cases we ever heard was one in which a man was accused by the husband of his 'daughter' (the daughter of his own elder brother) of having a liaison with her. The affair was taken to a smeller-out, who decided he was guilty, but the case dragged on and we never saw the end of it. There has been, within the knowledge of informants, a case of incest between uterine brother and sister, and we were told also of a case in which a married man was brought to court by his own mother, who accused him of incest with her. He was tied in court, an unheard-of humiliation, and public indignation made his position so intolerable that on the pretext of wishing to go and relieve himself, he asked to be untethered and then tried to cut his throat. This put an end to the case. He did not die, but since that time 'his head has not been right'. He still lives in his mother's village.

The different social duties and obligations between relatives must be thought of more as group links than purely individual ties, important in social structure rather than in the purely personal relationship between people. They are not always translated into behaviour: important as are the social obligations that mark off a father's sister from, say, a mother's brother's wife, it would be impossible to detect any differences in individual behaviour towards these two relatives. Similarly, a man respects both his father's brothers and his mother's brothers and the fact that decides him to go to his mother's brother for advice may be no reflection of any intimacy in their personal relationships. The social obligations towards a father's sister would and should be carried out just the same whether she is a stern, formidable woman or whether she is soft-hearted and motherly in her attitude towards her brother's relatives. Nevertheless, character and personality do enter into personal relationships between different relatives, so much so that the socially enjoined relationship at times breaks down altogether. Sons do not always respect and care for their fathers in their old age, and in a district head's court we once saw a young man fined one head of cattle and a goat and severely reprimanded for having beaten his father in a quarrel. Nor do all grandmothers pet and spoil their daughters' children. Mukhadi, a selfish, quarrelsome woman, made no effort to adopt her deceased daughter's children, who, in spite of accepted social standards, had to remain on in their father's village in the care of their father's mother.

All the obligations and duties associated with different relatives are, in the Native mind, subject to the qualification, 'if we agree'. Normally, one should and does agree with one's father's sister or with one's wife's relations; but if one does not, then obviously one will neither visit nor send beer, and sooner or later there will be an open quarrel. If a sister